



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

American School  
of Classical Studies  
in Rome

THE VALUE OF THE VESTAL STATUES AS  
ORIGINALS

---

AUTHENTIC representations in art of the Vestal Virgins have been until within a few years almost unknown. Those recognized as authentic, apart from a few coins upon which the priestesses were represented in a body, consisted of two heads, one<sup>1</sup> upon a medallion and the other<sup>2</sup> on a gem, and a single statue (Fig. 10), found in 1591 on the Esquiline, of which it has been generally held that only two drawings<sup>3</sup> remain. Great interest was, therefore, aroused, when there were found in the excavations in and near the Atrium Vestae in 1882–1883 a number of more or less perfect statues and busts of members of the Vestal priesthood. The number of the statues<sup>4</sup> which were discovered at that time or a little later was twelve, to which one (Fig. 17) has since been added. The busts<sup>5</sup> were four in number, two of which were merely detached heads belonging to statues which had been destroyed. Two heads<sup>6</sup> were also found, which were parts of a large relief, representing probably a sacrificial scene in which the whole priesthood participated. Since 1883 two other fragmentary busts, which

<sup>1</sup> Bellicia Modesta : Visconti, *Mus. Pio-Clem.* III, 229, and pl. a II, 3 ; Lanciani, *Not. Scav.* 1883, pl. XVIII, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Neratia : Lanciani, *l.c.* 8.

<sup>3</sup> (1) Jo. Hemelarius, Lipsius, *de Vesta et Vestalibus Syntagma*, p. 59 ; Lanciani (reproduction of the drawing of Hemelarius), *l.c.* 4, 5, and 7. (2) Ciacconius cod. Oliv. f. 233 in Pesaro, Amelung, *Dissert. dell' Accad. Pontificia*, II, viii, 70, fig. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Jordan, *Der Tempel der Vesta*, pl. VIII–X, 1–10, 12–13. Figs. 1–3, 5, 6, 9, 11–16.

<sup>5</sup> Lanciani, *l.c.* 1, 2, and 3 ; 1885, p. 187. Helbig, *Führer*, II, pp. 202–203, Nos. 1074, 1080–81.

<sup>6</sup> (1) Museo delle Terme, Upper Floor, Room VI. Helbig, *Guide*, p. 219, No. 1034. (2) Museo delle Terme, Cloisters, North Corridor, Room E, 319.

are still unpublished, have been found, as well as a third head<sup>1</sup> belonging to the relief. In addition there are two fine busts of Vestals, one in the Villa Albani at Rome, and the other in the Uffizi in Florence, which have not until recently<sup>2</sup> been accepted as such. A third head with a mural crown has been rightly recognized by Dragendorff<sup>3</sup> as that of a Vestal. There are, moreover, in the Villa Albani<sup>4</sup> and in the museums of Sorrento<sup>5</sup> and Palermo<sup>6</sup> three reliefs representing the Vestals engaged in sacrificial rites. These reliefs also remained unrecognized until after the discovery of the new statues. In the present investigation I have confined my attention wholly to the full-length statues. The various busts and reliefs have been omitted from the discussion, since they, by their very nature, are less immediately affected by the questions involved.

Some years ago, when, in connection with other lines of work, my attention was called to the Vestal statues, it was my good fortune to receive from Professor Frank B. Tarbell a casual word of criticism concerning the value of one or two of them as portrait statues. In the years since that time, as opportunity has offered, I have collected a few data bearing upon the problem thus suggested, upon which are based the conclusions here presented.

Among the ideal and semi-ideal statues of the Roman period, there exist, as all recognize, certain well-defined types, represented often by a large number of replicas, copies more or less exact of earlier Greek originals. In the field of Roman portrait sculpture, however, the possibility of the existence of such copies has not, as it seems to me, been sufficiently recognized, except in the case of those imperial statues which excite comment even from the casual observer by reason of their grotesque mixture of ideal and realistic elements. This uncritical attitude has been nowhere more clearly manifest than in the dis-

<sup>1</sup> This head is now in Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts.

<sup>2</sup> Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelstudien*, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> *Rh. Mus.* LI, pp. 281 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Zoega, *Bassirilievi*, pl. XXII.

<sup>5</sup> *Röm. Mitt.* 1889, pl. X, c and d.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 1894, pl. VI and pp. 125 ff.

cussion of this group of statues<sup>1</sup> which have been accepted without demur as original portrait statues of the Roman period, and referred to as final authority for the dress as well as for the insignia of office of the Vestals. Of these statues, however — with the exception of the heads, the originality of which



E. B. V. D.

FIGURE 1. — STATUE IN  
ATRIUM VESTAE.

no one can doubt — there is no evidence that even one can claim a Roman origin. On the contrary, of the fourteen statues which remain, five<sup>2</sup> are clearly copies of well-known types, representing four Greek originals of the fourth century B.C., of two others<sup>3</sup> undoubted replicas exist, while the remaining seven<sup>4</sup> are so closely allied to other existing statues that their acceptance as originals is difficult.

Of the five statues which are most clearly the work of the copyist and not of the artist, two<sup>5</sup> are of especial interest, since they are slightly modified copies of the same original. The type to which they belong represented originally, as Furtwängler<sup>6</sup> held, the goddess Demeter, and may be assigned in its earliest form to the period of Praxiteles, if not to the master himself. An earlier form of the same type Furtwängler finds in a statue<sup>7</sup> in Venice, which he holds to be an original of the fourth century B.C., as well as in two reliefs belonging to the same period, one of which is at Eleusis and the other in the theatre at Athens.<sup>8</sup> Though there are many similar statues in existence, modifications probably of the same original, undoubted replicas of this type are rare. Apart from the Vestal statues, but three are known to me.

<sup>1</sup> Jordan, *Der Tempel der Vesta*, pp. 44, 55 et al.; Dragendorff, 'Die Amtstracht der Vestalinnen,' *Rh. Mus.* 1896, pp. 284-85 et al.

<sup>2</sup> Figs. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Figs. 9 and 10.

<sup>4</sup> Figs. 11-17.

<sup>5</sup> Figs. 1 and 2. Jordan, *l.c.* 3 and 5. Both statues are in the Atrium Vestae.

<sup>6</sup> 'Griechische Original-Statuen in Venedig,' *Abh. Mün. Akad.* XXI, p. 305.

<sup>7</sup> *l.c.* pl. V.

<sup>8</sup> *Mon. d. Ist.* IX, pl. 16.

- (1) Louvre, Gall. Mollien, No. 2283. (Clarac, *Mus. de sculptures*, 978 B, 2524 F; Reinach,<sup>1</sup> *Rép. de la stat.* II, 240, 9.)<sup>2</sup>
- (2) St. Petersburg. Kieseritzky, *Ermitage*, No. 19; Reinach, *l.c.* III, 92, 5.
- (3) Villa Doria-Pamfili. Clarac, *l.c.* 438 D, 774 E.

Of these replicas the one formerly in the Palazzo Altemps and now in the Louvre (1) is the best known. The replica in the Doria-Pamfili (3) has suffered somewhat from the hand of the restorer, while that in St. Petersburg (2) has been transformed into a muse. When compared with one another and with the Vestal statues, these replicas show the same variance in details, — for example, in the position of the hands and the arrangement of the drapery, — and the same agreement in conception and general treatment which characterize in almost all cases copies from a common original. The statues are all, probably, from the same general period, the second or third century A.D. The second (Fig. 2) of the Vestal statues, however, has been held by some critics to be much later, owing to the use of the long-sleeved tunic, which was not introduced into Rome until a very late period.

Modifications of this type, or of one closely allied to it, are found in considerable numbers, as, for example, in the Vatican,<sup>3</sup> in the Loggia dei Lanzi<sup>4</sup> and the Corsini Gallery<sup>5</sup> at Florence, in the Glyptothek<sup>6</sup> at Munich, and in the British Museum.<sup>7</sup>

In the next statue (Fig. 3)<sup>8</sup> we have an example of a far



E. B. V. D.

FIGURE 2. — STATUE IN ATRIUM VESTAE.

<sup>1</sup> The statue in the Louvre was not recognized by Reinach as that formerly in the Palazzo Altemps and mentioned by Clarac.

<sup>2</sup> The list of references is not intended to be exhaustive. In the majority of cases only the most important are given. Where the statue itself has been used by me, the references have been enclosed in parentheses.

<sup>3</sup> Cortile del Belvedere.

<sup>4</sup> Reinach, II, 655, 9–10, 656, 3–4.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 658, 6.

<sup>6</sup> No. 182 (Clarac, 556, 1174).

<sup>7</sup> Basement Annex.

<sup>8</sup> In the Atrium Vestae. Jordan, *l.c.* 7.

better known type, and one of which there exists a much larger number of replicas. The origin of this type, as of the last, can be traced to the fourth century B.C. The same type, though in a less developed form, appears, as Amelung<sup>1</sup> believes, in three Greek reliefs<sup>2</sup> of that period. Concerning at least two of these his opinion seems to me to be well founded. Whether,



E. B. V. D.

FIGURE 3. — STATUE IN  
ATRIUM VESTAE.

however, this opinion is accepted or not, the type represented by the Vestal statue is unquestionably an old one and cannot have originated much later than the period to which it is generally assigned. It was probably in its origin, as in its later use, a goddess type, though the divinity for whom it was intended cannot be determined. Among the Romans it became, possibly immediately upon its introduction, a most popular type for the representation of the goddess Fortuna, to whom all of the statues, with one possible exception (9), are to be referred.<sup>3</sup> The attributes of Fortuna, the rudder resting upon the globe and the cornucopia, are, of course, additions made by the Romans. Concerning the attributes of the divinity originally represented, no evidence remains.

There are in all nine other replicas of this type, six of which are in the various galleries of Rome. They are as follows:

- (1) Vatican, Braccio Nuovo, 86. (Amelung, *Sculpt. Vat. Mus.* pl. 13; Clarac, 455, 835. For further references, see Amelung, *l.c.* p. 103).
- (2) Museo delle Terme, Cloisters, West Corridor.
- (3) Coll. Mattei. Clarac, 454 A, 839 C.; Matz-Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, No. 868.

<sup>1</sup> *Sculpt. Vat. Mus.* p. 102.<sup>2</sup> Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs*, 63, 75, 94.<sup>3</sup> When used as a portrait statue, the attributes of Fortuna are retained.

- (4) Museo dei Conservatori, Corridor XIII.
- (5) Seville, Spain, Casa de Pilatos. *Jh. Oest. Arch. I.* II, Fig. 81; Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelaufnahmen*, p. 1819.
- (6) Vatican, Braccio Nuovo, 59. (Amelung, *l.c.* pl. 9; Clarac, 451, 824.)
- (7) Vatican, Braccio Nuovo, 74. (Amelung, *l.c.* pl. 11; Clarac, 768, 1897.)
- (8) Ste. Colombe-les-Vienne. Reinach, II, 261, 4.
- (9) Dresden, Albertinum, Hall on the left of the entrance.

Of the nine replicas the first five are veiled, like the Vestal statue, and the remaining four are unveiled. Of the former class the familiar statue in the Vatican (1, Fig. 4) is perhaps the most typical. The head does not belong to the statue, which has in other respects also suffered from the hands of the modern restorer; the restorations are, however, in all essential points correct. A more interesting replica, which differs from that in the Vatican only in its technique and resembles the Vestal statue even in minute details, is that in the Museo delle Terme (2), which was found in 1900 on the Quirinal. The statue in the Mattei collection (3) has been falsely restored as Abundance, with a second cornucopia in the right hand. The last two replicas of this class (4 and 5) represent the empresses Plotina and, according to Hübner,<sup>1</sup>



Alinari.  
FIGURE 4.—FORTUNA.  
VATICAN.

Manlia Scantilla in the guise of Fortuna. Of the replicas of the other class, that in which the head is not veiled, the so-called Clementia of the Vatican (7) is the best known. That this group of statues, as well as the other, represented Fortuna is evident from the replica in Ste. Colombe-les-Vienne (8), in which the usual attributes are easily distinguished, though they have been somewhat disguised by modern restorations. In more recent times the Fortuna has attained to new honors, having made her appearance in the pages of *Punch*, with the scales and under the name of Justice. As no replica of this type exists in England, the choice of the cartoonist would

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. dell' Ist.* 1862, p. 100.

seem strange, did we not know that the Fortuna of the Vatican, through miniature reproductions in bronze, has made its way into all lands.

The Vestal statue differs in no respect, as can be seen by comparison, from the replicas of the first class. In front of the left shoulder, moreover, there is a small hollow, pointing clearly to the presence of the cornucopia found in the other replicas. The right hand and the base on the same side are broken off; no traces, therefore, of the rudder and the globe remain. The pose of the whole figure, however, and especially the position of the right arm, as seen from the portion of it still remaining, make the presence of some such attribute certain. We may, therefore, with good reason, accept the statue as that of Fortuna.



E. B. V. D.

FIGURE 5. — STATUE IN  
ATRIUM VESTAE.

The two statues (Figs. 5 and 6)<sup>1</sup> which we are next to consider are distinct in character from those of which we have spoken, since they resemble more nearly portraits than statues of goddesses, while one<sup>2</sup> at least of the originals, of which they seem close copies, was in all probability designed as a *genre* or portrait statue. No statues of their class appear to have attained to greater popularity in Greece, and when transferred to Rome, not only did they win the first place as portrait statues, if we may judge from the number of replicas which remain, but they were held in high esteem also as types for the representation of goddesses.

<sup>1</sup> Both are in the Atrium Vestae. Jordan, *l.c.* 4 and 8.

<sup>2</sup> Flasch (Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, II, 1104 ff) holds that both types were designed originally as portraits. Amelung (*Die Basis des Praxiteles aus Mantinea*, p. 28), on the other hand, maintains that the former was in its origin a Kore type, while the latter was intended for a *genre* figure.



Of the two types represented by these statues, though they belong to the same general period, the first (Fig. 5) is perhaps somewhat the older. Concerning the period to which it is to be assigned, but little difference of opinion prevails among critics, who regard the original from which the type is derived as a work of the fourth century B.C. and in all probability from the hand of Praxiteles himself. An earlier development of the same or of a very similar conception Amelung finds in a figure in a relief<sup>1</sup> discovered in 1887 in Mantinea, which from its general style may very well belong to a somewhat older period. With the later developments as well as with the various modifications of the type we are not here concerned.

Of the type itself there are twenty-five replicas known to me, while others, which have not been brought to my notice, are doubtless to be found in smaller collections and private galleries. The replicas are as follows:

- (1) Dresden, Albertinum, 500. (Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, fig. 1937; Clarac, 766, 1899.)
- (2) Syracuse. Reinach, II, 665, 7.
- (3) Olympia. *Ergebnisse*, III, pl. LXVII, 1; Reinach, II, 669, 13.
- (4) Museo dei Conservatori, Corridor XIII.
- (5) Louvre, Salle de Sévère, 1130. (Clarac, 311, 2482.)
- (6) England, Pembroke Collection. (Clarac, 949, 2443 A.)
- (7) Louvre, Salle de l'Afrique, 1780. (Reinach, II, 666, 10.)
- (8) Venice. *Museo Nani*, 189; Reinach, II, 668, 1.
- (9) Palazzo del Drago. Reinach, III, 75, 4.
- (10) Constantinople. Reinach, II, 665, 4.
- (11) St. Petersburg, Ermitage. Reinach, II, 666, 8.
- (12) Coll. Torlonia. Clarac, 430, 777.
- (13) Villa Albani. Reinach, II, 244, 7.
- (14) Athens, National Museum, 219. Amelung, *Die Basis des Praxiteles aus Mantinea*, p. 26, fig. 7.
- (15) Olympia. *Ergebnisse*, III, pl. LXII, 6; Reinach, II, 671, 9.
- (16) Olympia. *Ergebnisse*, III, pl. LXVII, 2; Reinach, II, 670, 6.
- (17) Olympia. *Ergebnisse*, III, pl. LXVII, 3; Reinach, II, 671, 8.<sup>2</sup>
- (18) Louvre, Salle des Saisons, 1049. (Clarac, 298, 980.)
- (19) Vatican, Braccio Nuovo, 80. (Amelung, *Sculpt. Vat. Mus.* pl. 13; Clarac, 945, 2425.)

<sup>1</sup> Amelung, *l.c.* p. 28 and plate.

<sup>2</sup> According to Flasch (Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, 1104 oo) there were seven replicas found in Olympia. Four only are published in the *Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*.

- (20) Algiers. *Musée de Cherchell*, p. 59.
- (21) Algiers, Philippeville. Reinach, II, 677, 6.
- (22) Sparta, Museum, 616. Photograph in private collection.
- (23) Lillebonne. *Annali dell' Ist.* 1829, pp. 147 ff.; Reinach, II, 670, 5.
- (24) Florence, Uffizi, West Corridor.
- (25) Villa Borghese, Portico.

The most typical of these replicas is perhaps the ideal statue from Herculaneum (1), which is now in Dresden. Of the other twelve (2-13) which have not suffered too seriously for identification, all have been used as portrait statues. The earliest of these is that in Syracuse (2), which is of the first century A.D.<sup>1</sup> The greater number, however, belong to the succeeding century, when the type came into high favor among the women of the imperial house. From this period there remain at least three statues (3-5) of Faustina the Elder.



E. B. V. D.

FIGURE 6. — STATUE IN  
ATRIUM VESTAE.

The other portraits are unknown. The heads of the remaining statues (14-25) have not been preserved, while of a few of them only a small part remains. Seven of these statues (6, 9, 12, 13, 20, 21, 25) are distinguished from the rest by the presence in the left hand of the poppies or wheat-heads, the symbol of the goddess Ceres. Of these, four (6, 9, 12, 13) are portraits, probably of empresses who are represented with the attributes of the goddess.

In the matronly dignity of the figure and the careful handling of the drapery, the statue from the Atrium Vestae may be regarded as representing one of the most pleasing varieties of this type. The statue itself, however, is merely a shop-made copy of the second century A.D. In the left hand are the wheat-heads, as in the replicas mentioned above. Since the head of the statue is missing, no more exact identification is possible.

The second (Fig. 6) of the more distinctive portrait

<sup>1</sup> The method of dressing the hair belongs to the first century.

statues differs but little in type from that just described, of which it has been held<sup>1</sup> to be a later development. That it was in any case a little later in period is suggested by the pose of the figure and the freer handling of the drapery, while the close relation between the two types is evident from their similarity in conception and in general treatment. Though inferior to the other in dignity, the second statue is by no means inferior in grace and charm. As the former, with its maturer form and its statelier dignity, won unprecedented popularity as a type for statues of matrons, so the latter, on account of its slender grace and lightness, met with no less favor for maiden figures, for which it seems preëminently fitted.

The number of replicas of this type, as of the former, is unusual. The forty which are known to me are as follows :

- (1) Dresden, Albertinum, 501. (Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, fig. 1935; Clarac, 497, 973.)
- (2) Athens, National Museum, 242. *Ath. Mitt.* 1878, pl. 6; Reinach, II, 665, 2.
- (3) Athens, National Museum, 141. *B.C.H.* XIX, pl. 7; Reinach, II, 665, 11.
- (4) Dresden, Albertinum, 502. (Reinach, II, 666, 2.)
- (5) Coll. Torlonia. Reinach, II, 665, 3.
- (6) Lateran Museum, Room XV, 941.
- (7) Rouen. Reinach, III, 192, 3.
- (8) Vatican, Museo Pio-Clementino. (Clarac, 498, 976 A.)
- (9) Naples, Museum. (Clarac, 928, 2360.)
- (10) Naples, Museum. (Clarac, 921, 2349.)
- (11) Naples, Museum. (Clarac, 923, 2349 C.)
- (12) Crete. Reinach, II, 666, 4.
- (13) Olympia. *Ergebnisse*, LXVIII, 1; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, 1088, fig. 1299; Reinach, II, 665, 8.
- (14) Florence, Uffizi, 104. (Dutschke, *Ant. Bildw. in Ober-Italien*, III, 221.)
- (15) Venice, Museo Archeologico. Clarac, 949, 2443.
- (16) British Museum, Roman Gallery, 1415. (Reinach, II, 665, 12.)
- (17) Algiers. *Musée de Constantine*, pl. V; Reinach, II, 666, 5 and 12.
- (18) Algiers. *Musée de Lambèse*, pl. III, 3; Reinach, II, 666, 9.
- (19) Louvre, Salle des Saisons, 1043.
- (20) Cairo. Reinach, II, 665, 5.
- (21) Coll. Pacetti. Clarac, 528, 1095.
- (22) Cyrene. Reinach, III, 185, 11.

<sup>1</sup> Amelung, *l.c.* p. 30.

- (23) Athens, National Museum. Heydemann, *Ant. Marmorbildw.* 191.
- (24) Athens, National Museum. Heydemann, *l.c.* 206.
- (25) Athens, National Museum. *B.C.H.* 1879, pl. IX; Reinach, II, 670, 1.
- (26) Corinth. Photograph by Arthur S. Cooley.
- (27) Olympia. *Ergebnisse*, LXVIII, 3; Reinach, II, 670, 9.
- (28) Sparta, Museum, 443. Photograph in private collection.
- (29) Thespieae. Reinach, II, 677, 1.
- (30) Louvre, Salle de l'Afrique, 1779. (Reinach, II, 670, 4.)
- (31) Bordeaux. Reinach, II, 667, 1. (The head is ancient but does not belong to the statue.)
- (32) British Museum, Basement Annex, 1688. (*Anc. Marbles in Brit. Mus.* IX, pl. IV; Reinach, II, 670, 3.)
- (33) Vicenza. Reinach, II, 665, 6. (Head modern.)
- (34) Musei dei Conservatori, Corridor XIII. (Restored as Polyhymnia.)
- (35) Naples, Museum. (Restored as Polyhymnia.)
- (36) Ostia, Terme.
- (37) Athens, National Museum. Kekulé, *Die Ant. Bildw. im Thes.* 386. (Figure in high relief.)
- (38) Munich, Glyptothek, 249. (Figure in high relief.)
- (39) Rome, Magazzino Archeologico, in the garden.
- (40) Colosseum, *in deposito*.

While the majority of these replicas which can be identified are, as in the case of the preceding group, portrait statues, the number of the ideal statues which remain is much larger. Of these statues (1-7), that found in Herculaneum and now in Dresden (1) may be regarded as typical; from this the statues which were discovered in Aegium (2) and in Delos (3, Fig. 7) differ only slightly. Of the statues with realistic portrait heads (8-22), five (8-12) are of the first century A.D. From the second century, in which this type found no less favor than the preceding, there remain at least six (13-18) replicas. Of these the most famous is the Faustina from Olympia (13). The date of the other portrait statues (19-22) cannot be determined. The identification of the remaining replicas is not possible, since the heads have been removed or broken off.



FIGURE 7. — STATUE  
FROM DELOS.

The most important modification of this type is that represented by the statues of Polyhymnia. There are in all but five of these, namely:

- (1) Stockholm. Clarac, 527, 1094.
- (2) St. Petersburg. Kieseritzky, *Ermitage*, p. 148, No. 312.
- (3) Madrid, Prado. Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelaufnahmen*, 1532.
- (3) Vatican, Sala d. Muse, 508. (Clarac, 527, 1092 A.)
- (5) Louvre, Rotonde d'Apollon, 392. (Clarac, 328, 1091. The head does not belong to the statue.)

In these many recognize only a type closely allied to that under discussion. That they represent, rather, a modification, or development, of this same type is evident from a comparison of the two groups of statues. In the Polyhymnia statues, the best examples of which are in the Vatican (4, Fig. 8) and the Louvre (5), though the position of the right hand and of the right leg has been slightly changed to give more life and motion to the figure, and though the short, simple upper drapery has yielded place to long sweeping folds, covering the left hand and extending to the feet, the general attitude of the figure and its treatment throughout have remained unchanged. The relationship of the two groups cannot, therefore, be doubted. The Polyhymnia statues in Stockholm (1) and in St. Petersburg (2), if they are not the result of modern restorations, represent an interesting stage in the development of the type, since the short upper drapery of the earlier group has not yet been lengthened. Other but less familiar modifications of the original type are found in the Museo delle Terme,<sup>1</sup> and in the museums of Cherchell<sup>2</sup> and Naples.<sup>3</sup>

Two others (Figs. 9 and 10) of the so-called Vestal statues, though representing types far less fortunate in the number of replicas found in modern museums, are no less surely shop-made copies of earlier Greek originals. Of the first



Alinari.

FIGURE 8.—POLYHYMNIA. VATICAN.

<sup>1</sup> Cloisters, on the right of the entrance.

<sup>2</sup> *Musée de Cherchell*, pl. XVII, 2; Reinach, II, 671, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Museum, 6394. (Clarac, 498 C, 994 A.)

(Fig. 9)<sup>1</sup> of these, which is among the finest of the series, there is but one replica, which is to be found in the Glyptothek in Munich.<sup>2</sup> This replica, though differing in details, agrees with the Vestal statue in the character of the figure, in its general pose, and in the management of the



FIGURE 9.—STATUE IN  
MUSEO DELLE TERME.

drapery. It has been restored as a Ceres; the presence of the cornucopia in the left hand, however, and the general attitude suggest rather a Fortuna. In the Vestal statue, also, the presence in the left hand of some such attribute as the cornucopia is clear. The pose of the figure and the evident traces on the right side of supports for some attribute suggest the presence on that side of an altar or of the rudder resting on the globe. The presence of the cornucopia makes the latter more probable. The full matronly dignity of the figure and the close agreement in the handling of the rich but simple drapery suggest a near kinship of the Vestal statue with the Artemisia of the British Museum.<sup>3</sup> It is probable that the original of our statue is to be assigned to the same general period.

The second of the statues, undoubted replicas of which exist, though in no great number, is that

(Fig. 10)<sup>4</sup> found in 1591 on the Esquiline. Until very recently our knowledge of it has been derived wholly from the inscription<sup>5</sup> found with it and from the two drawings<sup>6</sup> made at the time of its discovery. It has been supposed that the

<sup>1</sup> Jordan, *l.c.* 2. Now in the Museo delle Terme, West Corridor.

<sup>2</sup> No. 527. Furtwängler, *Ein Hundert Tafeln*, 75.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, *Cat. of Sculpture*, pl. XVI; Reinach, II, 569, 8.

<sup>4</sup> Photograph of F. Bruckmann, Munich.

<sup>5</sup> *C.I.L.* VI, 1, 2145.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 324, note 3.

statue itself, like so many others, found its way into some one of the numerous limekilns of the period. A few years ago, however, Amelung discovered in the Colonna gallery the long-lost statue, under the disguise of a Muse and restored it to its place among the Vestal statues.<sup>1</sup> Last November, while making a list of the replicas of the various statues, I saw the statue in the Colonna gallery for the first time and after an examination of it arrived independently<sup>2</sup> at the conclusion concerning its history which had been reached earlier by Dr. Amelung. The statue, as seen in the drawings, was especially noticeable on account of the presence of the *vittae* and of an elaborate necklace, to which was attached a large pendant or brooch resembling that which, when used in fastening the *suffibulum*, is one of the especial badges of the Vestal priesthood. The representation of the *suffibulum* by a fichu-like drapery about the neck was also peculiar to this statue. In the statue in the Colonna gallery, the portion of the neck on which the *vittae* were shown in the drawings has been restored, in consequence of which the fillets have disappeared. The large brooch, however, remains and the *suffibulum* is represented in the same peculiar manner as on the Esquiline statue. The presence of the brooch is especially significant. Since until the discovery of the statues in the Forum,<sup>3</sup> the statue on the Esquiline was



F. Bruckmann.

FIGURE 10. — STATUE FROM THE ESQUILINE.

<sup>1</sup> Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelauftnahmen*, No. 1147, text.

<sup>2</sup> An error in the references to the number of the statue in the *Einzelauftnahmen* had prevented me from finding the discussion of the statue there published.

<sup>3</sup> On one of the statues (Fig. 11) there are holes where a large brooch and probably a necklace were fastened.

unique in the use of this brooch,<sup>1</sup> the restoration on the Colonna statue of such an ornament, did it not already exist, is more than improbable. No traces of the necklace shown in the drawings are now to be found. It is probable, as Amelung



E. B. V. D.

FIGURE 11.



E. B. V. D.

FIGURE 12.

## STATUES IN ATRIUM VESTAE.

suggests, that the brooch was mistaken for a pendant and the necklace added by the artist to support it. Despite the absence of the necklace, however, and some slight differences in details,<sup>2</sup> the identity of the statue is unmistakable.

Of this interesting statue a replica exists in the so-called

<sup>1</sup> A much smaller brooch is seen on the most noted of the statues in the Terme (Fig. 15). A similar brooch is shown on the coin of Bellicia Modesta. See p. 324, n. 1, for references.

<sup>2</sup> For a fuller discussion of these differences, see Amelung, *Dissert. dell' Accad. Pontificia*, 1903, pp. 67 ff.; Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelaufnahmen*, No. 1147.



Agrippina of the Vatican,<sup>1</sup> who is represented with the attributes of Hygieia.

Of the remaining statues<sup>2</sup> but little need be said. Though no exact replicas have been found, all of them except one (Fig. 17) resemble so closely other existing statues that their derivation from the same or nearly related originals is certain. The first of these (Fig. 11)<sup>3</sup> resembles most nearly two statues of priestesses, one of which is in the Uffizi at Florence. Of the other, which was found in 1902 near Pozzuoli,<sup>4</sup> I have been unable to find any trace. A possible replica of the next statue (Fig. 12)<sup>5</sup> is found in the Naples Museum.<sup>6</sup> Of the third (Fig. 14)<sup>7</sup> an almost certain replica exists in the Glyptothek<sup>8</sup> at Munich. The fourth statue (Fig. 15)<sup>9</sup>, the technique of which places it among the earliest of the series, is too much injured to allow of any certainty concerning the type which it represents. It is almost identical, so far as it remains, with a figure in a relief in Dresden.<sup>10</sup> Of the next two statues (Figs. 13 and 16)<sup>11</sup> but a small part remains; the types represented seem by no means uncommon. The last statue (Fig. 17)<sup>12</sup> which is here published for the first time, is unique. It suggests in its general pose a Flora, though unlike any of the more familiar statues of that goddess. In no one of these statues are there any of the essential marks of a real portrait statue; they seem, like the others, to be merely more or less perfect replicas of recognized, though less common, types.



E. B. V. D.

FIGURE 13. — TORSO IN  
ATRIUM VESTAE.

<sup>1</sup> Mus. Chiaramonti 62. (Amelung, *Sculpt. Vat. Mus.* pl. 37.)

<sup>2</sup> Figs. 11-17.

<sup>3</sup> Jordan, *l.c.* 1. In the Atrium Vestae. The height of the statue from shoulder to base is the same as that of Figure 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Not. Scav.* 1902, pp. 57 ff. and fig.

<sup>5</sup> Jordan, *l.c.* 6. In the Atrium Vestae.

<sup>6</sup> Clarac, 451, 823.

<sup>7</sup> Jordan, *l.c.* 9. In the Atrium Vestae.

<sup>8</sup> No. 252 a.

<sup>9</sup> Jordan, *l.c.* 10. Now in the Museo delle Terme, Room VI.

<sup>10</sup> No. 505.

<sup>11</sup> Jordan, *l.c.* 12 and 13. In the Atrium Vestae.

<sup>12</sup> In the Atrium Vestae.



E. B. V. D.

FIGURE 14.



FIGURE 15.



E. B. V. D.

FIGURE 16.



E. B. V. D.

FIGURE 17.

FIGURES 14, 16, 17. STATUES IN ATRIUM VESTAE.

FIGURE 15. STATUE IN MUSEO DELLE TERME.

The facts here presented forbid, as it seems to me, the classification of this group of statues under the head of portrait statues and compel the recognition of the greater number, if not all of them, as shop-made copies of well-known types, to which portrait heads have been attached. As original Vestal statues, therefore, they lose all importance, and, apart from their portrait heads, can have no bearing upon questions concerning the priesthood.

As a result of this conclusion, a further question presents itself—as to how far the evidence is conclusive that the statues were, even in this limited sense, Vestal statues. With the exception of two they were not found in the Atrium, where they now stand, but, according to the testimony of Professor Petersen,<sup>1</sup> in a room adjoining the temple, with other marbles collected for transportation to a neighboring limekiln. Certain of them, therefore, may equally well have come from some other building near by and not from the Atrium. In the same heap, moreover, were several busts and at least one statue, which certainly cannot be ascribed to the Vestals; namely, the busts of Marcus Aurelius and of Faustina, of Geta and of Gallienus, and the so-called statue of *Praetextatus*. It is possible, therefore, that some of the statues from the Atrium, even if designed as portrait statues, may have borne other heads than those of Vestals. Since, moreover, the Vestals were priestesses not only of Vesta, but of the other gods as well, the presence in the precinct of Vesta of statues representing other divinities would not be peculiar. For these reasons, the discovery of the statues even inside the Atrium would not in itself be sufficient proof that they were intended to represent Vestals. For some of them, however, there exists fortunately other and conclusive proof, in the presence on the statues of the insignia of their priestly office. These special badges of office were (1) the *sex crines*, used also by Roman brides, (2) the *infula* and *vittae*, which formed a part also of the matron's dress, (3) the veil, and (4) the *suffibulum* fastened with its special brooch. Of these badges the *sex crines*<sup>2</sup> are plainly

<sup>1</sup> This statement was made several years ago by Professor Petersen in a private conversation.

<sup>2</sup> The *sex crines* are the six braids wound about the head, which are plainly seen on the busts referred to.

seen on several of the busts<sup>1</sup> and less plainly on the heads of two (Figs. 9 and 15) of the statues. The *infulae* and *vittae* are found on six (Figs. 1, 2, 9, 11, 13, 15) of the statues, while the *suffibulum* fastened with the brooch is found only on two (Figs. 10 and 15).<sup>2</sup> On one statue alone (Fig. 15) appear all the badges of the priesthood. In certain of the statues (Figs. 9, 11, 13) the veil has been replaced by a portion of the upper garment, which has been drawn over the head. The statues which are distinguished by the presence of one or more of these badges are seven in number (Figs. 1, 2, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15). These may be accepted without question as, in the more limited sense of the word, Vestal statues. The others, however, bear no trace of any such distinctive marks of the priesthood, though some of them may have originally done so. Their acceptance as Vestal statues, without such proof, is impossible. They may very well have been used instead as portrait statues of empresses or of other friends of the cult, or they may have represented the divinities with which, as we have seen, the various types are most often associated.

ESTHER BOISE VAN DEMAN.

ROME, April 30, 1908.

<sup>1</sup> Lanciani, *Not. Scav.* 1883, pl. XVIII, 1, 2, and 3.

<sup>2</sup> The veil is replaced by the *suffibulum*.